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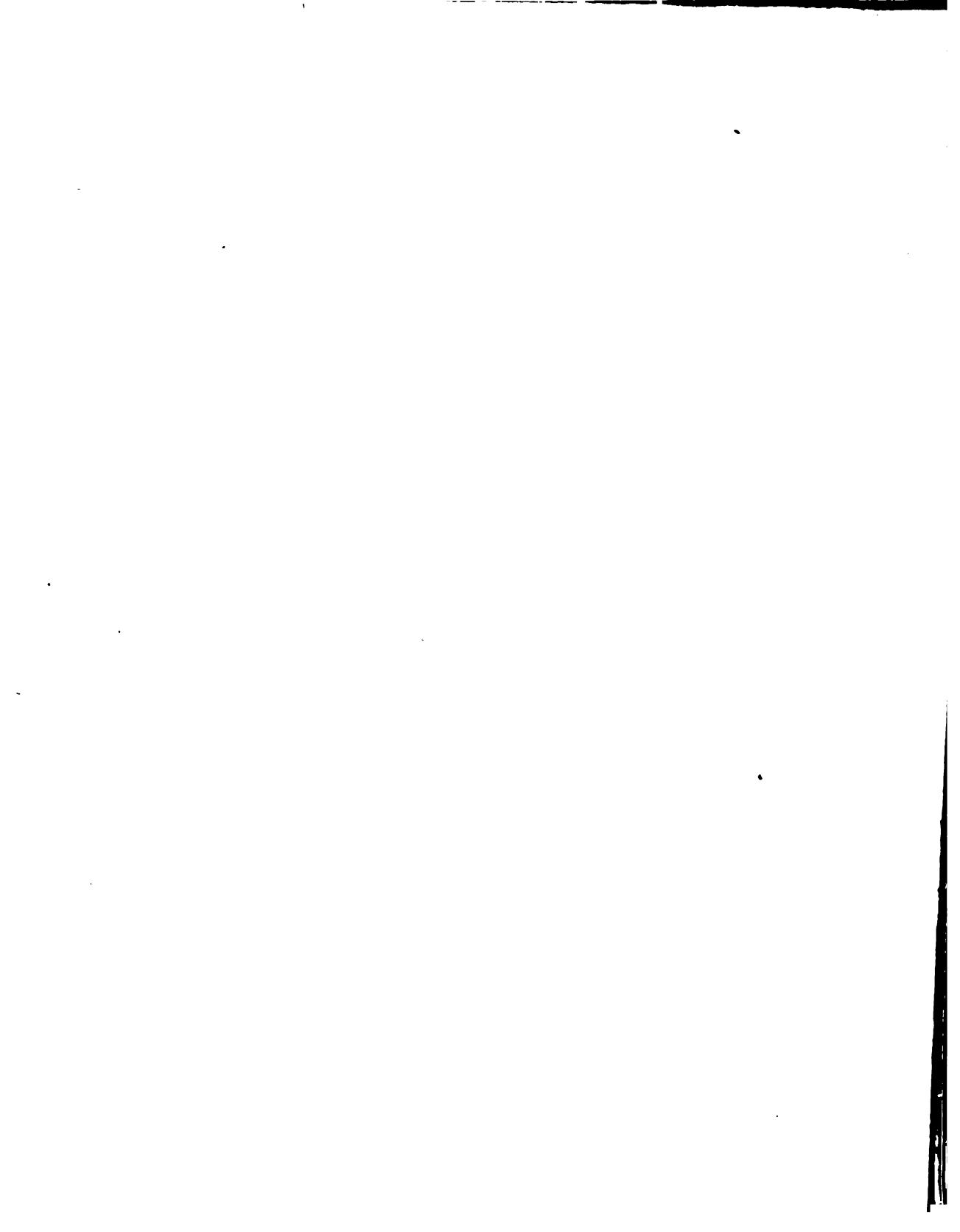
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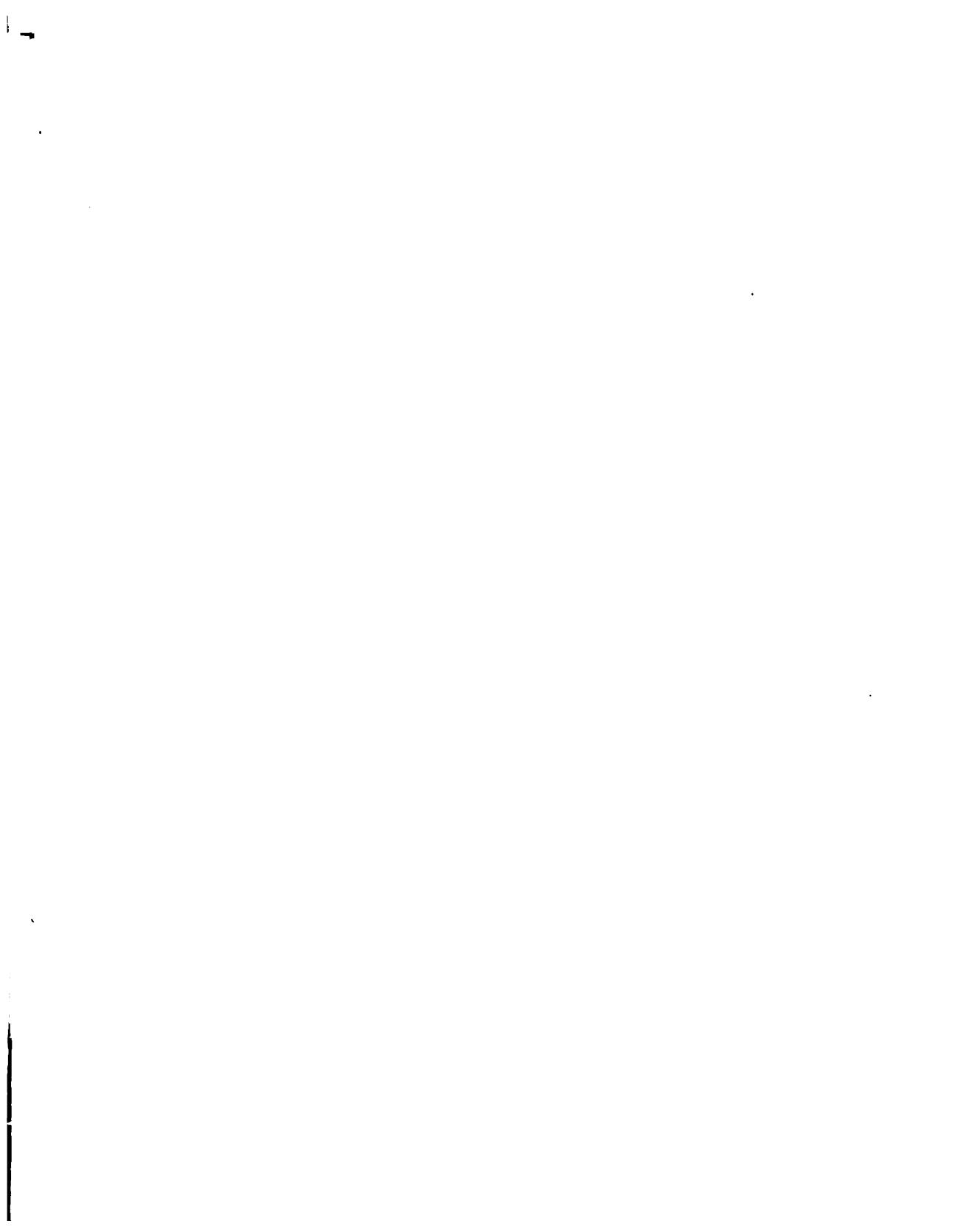
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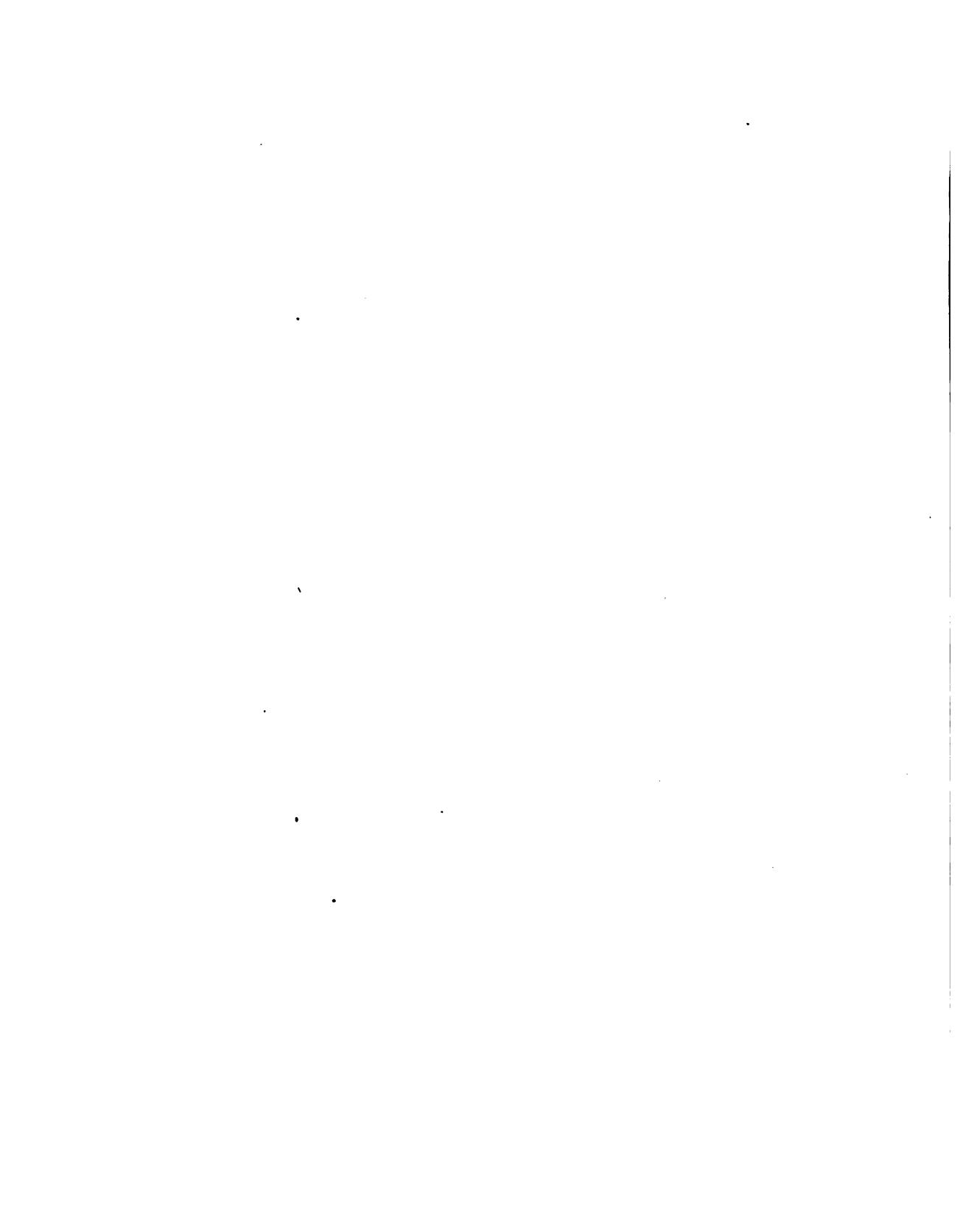
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QUI RATE VELIVOLA OCCIDVOS PENETRAVIT A' IDO  
PRIMVS ET AMERICAM NOBILITAVIT HVMVM



CHRISTOPHORVS COLVMBVS LIGVR INDLARV PRIM' INVENT' A' 1492

ASTRORVM CONSUIT, ET IPSO NOBILIS AVSV  
CHRISTOPHOR' TALI FRONTE COLVMB' ERAIT

# ILLUSTRATED AMERICANA

1493-1889

ARTICLES READ TO THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

BY

*Fr. Birmingham*

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL

AUTHOR OF

"THE LANDS OF SCOTT," "THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF FRANCE," "THE  
IMPERIAL ISLAND," "A CENTURY OF TOWN LIFE," ETC.

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The Anchor.

## ILLUSTRATED AMERICANA.

(1493-1624.)

PART I.

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ILLUSTRATED books on America have been made ever since its discovery by Columbus was announced to the world. Along with examples of nearly all styles and qualities of engraving, they also show us an even greater variety of what has been learned, or imagined, about the western hemisphere. Maps, which are very numerous, form a class by themselves, as in later times do almost countless wood-cuts. Before 1590 the latter were, however, about the only sort of engravings relating to the New World, and to some examination of them and of the plate engravings that followed them we turn our attention.

In the great mass of works known as Americana the number of those that can be called illustrated is, until recent years, relatively small, yet they afford more than ample matter for a limited paper. Accordingly the present paper will be confined to those produced before English colonization was to any considerable extent begun. The matter we find is significant for what it shows as well as for what it does not show. If it furnishes much less full and precise information than is given by some type, it still presents not a little that is important and interesting, and the plates often prove to be no mere curiosities or embellishments.

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At the outset we recall a remark by Harris, that "it is curious to notice how few of the original books relating to the early history of the New World can be found in the

public libraries of Europe,"—or, we may add, anywhere else except as the greatest rarities. It is a circumstance that indicates, as he says in another place, "the comparatively limited and transient effect produced upon the public mind by the discovery of America." The early engravings in works relating to this subject strengthen such an opinion.

The event, that we now know was so important, occurred in no age of dulness and ignorance—mediæval as it was—but at a time of wonderful awakening in thought, enterprise, and art. In literature, the Bible, works of the Greek and Roman authors, of the great Italian poets, and of a large number of writers then modern, had been printed, and that too in marvellous style, often on a grand scale, or in various editions. Twenty years earlier the "Geographia" of Strabo had been twice printed at Rome, and once at Venice. Of Ptolemy's "Cosmographia" there had been several editions, one of them, in 1478, with copper-plate maps, others with remarkably large wood-cut maps. As early as 1475 an essay at Universal History, illustrated, had appeared—the "Rudimentum Noviciarum" at Lubeck, and while Columbus was first westward bound engravers were cutting the blocks for the Nuremberg Chronicle, its largest view measuring twenty-one by thirteen and one-half inches. Military art had been illustrated by very spirited and well drawn cuts in the "Valturius" at Verona, 1472, republished with some changes in 1483. Copper or metal plate engravings had appeared in the Monte Santo di Dio, 1477; in the Dante of 1481, and probably the Triumphs of Petrarch. In 1486, a book of travels, the *Perigrinatio* of Breydenbach, had been issued with very notable wood-cuts, some fine and small, some very large—the view of Venice being no less than four feet three and one-half inches long. There were at least three editions of this work before 1492. Even that sometimes despised bit of geography, the local

guide-book, had appeared as early as 1473 in the "Mirabilia Romæ," and in the "Libellus" of Arnold of Brussels at Naples, 1475.

At the close of the fifteenth century there were certainly art and enterprise enough to illustrate a subject that was considered important or of interest. Even devices thought to be modern, possibly inventions of the astute Yankee, were then known. We have heard of the recent wood-cut that portrays a candidate for the State House, or the State Prison, but Anthony Coburger knew all that sort of useful economy, and more than that, for he could make the same block give a view of Damascus, Naples, Perugia, Verona, and several other dissimilar places. Publishers now-a-days could give the pioneers points on art, but hardly, it seems, in enterprise.

It was in an age of invention and bold undertaking, that as Irving wrote, "the great mystery of the ocean was revealed," and a new world was opened to Europe. Yet what did art then, and for generations indeed, do to illustrate it and make it known?

The printers' services, of course, were the first to be used. A Spanish letter describing the event appeared and was hastily translated into Latin and issued in over half a dozen forms at about as many places. Poor, thin, cheap, little tracts, some of them padded with wood-cuts, ornamental as the art was, illustrative as ships in general were, properly demonstrative so far as a coat of arms went, nothing to show what the New World or its discoverer were like—only a few curious examples of guess-work by the engravers. Yet slight as these tracts are in mere size, or as examples of early printing and engraving, they have become crown jewels in a collection of Americana, so rare that probably no one library has originals of all the editions. Two series that are renowned the world over, and that happily still exist,

help to do honor to members of this Society—the late Mr. James Lenox of New York, and Mr. John Nicholas Brown of Providence. To the latter, it should be added, a facsimile of a recently discovered edition has been dedicated.

Quickly following the printed letter came (October 25, 1493), a poem by Giuliano Dati, a popular Italian poet, giving the account in rhyme, and in a second edition (the next day) a view of the strange land. So far as this was represented in any of the cuts, it was as a sort of Eden just before and after the fall, with a good many Eves.

As scanty illustration was given to the early published accounts of the discoveries by Vespuccius. For instance, a thin quarto issued at Nuremburg, about 1505, has three escutcheons and a sort of portrait of the King of Portugal, and a Dutch tract issued in 1509-10, also describing the third voyage, has four rude cuts, two of which are repeated. Men and women are represented with long hair and bows and arrows. We cannot at the same time help noticing a fact recently spoken about—that the name of the discoverer appears to have been Alberico, and not Amerigo. It is the former in sixteen out of nineteen early accounts, as the writer notes them. The amount of exact information that can be given by cuts like these in the earliest quartos, and of the different opinions that can be formed from them, may be shown by the description that two learned men have printed of a cut (four and one-fourth by three and one-fourth inches) in the first German edition of the Columbus letter. It represents an open country in which a bare-footed figure, with a sort of halo around his head, stands conversing with a king who wears a crown and holds a sceptre, behind whom are three or four men in robes, and another man bearing a large sword. One says it is "the king receiving Columbus," the other that it is "the apprehension of Christ in the Garden."

By 1503 an account of the discoveries appeared not in pamphlet form but in a thick folio, the "Supplementum Chronicarum," published at Venice. Small square wood-cuts, views of cities, vary, if they do not adorn, the pages, but the short account of America is not illustrated, as is the case in the edition of 1513, also Venetian, although both editions contain a full-page view of the creation of Eve.

Only a few scattered cuts, indeed, appeared for some years afterwards, as before, in publications about the New World, and even these could be called little more than book ornaments by courtesy.

In 1522, John of Desborowe printed (at Antwerp?) a quarto of twenty-two pages with half a dozen cuts,—said to be the first book in English containing a notice of America. The same year an edition of Ptolemy was published at Strasbourg, containing, besides forty-nine maps, fourteen wood-cuts (about seven and one-fourth by three and three-fourths inches). They give very dubious, if any, hints about America, but very positive representations of animals and supposed human beings of a sort we hope science will never discover and introduce to us. At about this date appeared a short anonymous account of Yucatan, in German, with two wood-cuts, both repeated, although hardly for their beauty. One of them shows three evil-looking men, dressed like Europeans, engaged in chopping up babies. Harrisse also mentions five cuts in Oviedo's "Natural General Historia de las Indias" (Toledo, 1526), but they are of slight account. A folio by Laurent Fries (Strasbourg, 1527), contains an account of America, and eleven cuts. It is a very rare book, not yet seen by the writer, but it is mentioned as one of the few works with illustrations at this period.

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of them small, and seven wood-cuts. One of the latter is a view (six and one-half inches square) labelled "La gran citta di Temistitan," that is unmistakably Mexico, surrounded by water and reached by causeways. Although the workmanship is rude, there seems to be reason to think that the main features of the view are truthful. Unskilful as were some of the engravers at and before this time, there is good evidence that they, as well as their superiors in art, could strikingly delineate prominent points in a view. A generation earlier this fact was proved by the large cut of Nuremberg in the famous Chronicle of 1493, by the really immense view of Venice, already mentioned, and by five views of Cologne in its far rarer Chronicle of 1499, where the unfinished Dom with the huge old crane is sketched as some of us remember it was thirty years ago.

At the period now mentioned events were occurring in the New World that might not only arouse imagination—and to a greater degree than its discovery, peopled as it then seemed to be by savages—but that were of evident importance in their effect on European politics. Two hitherto unknown and unthought of empires were found, and were subjugated, by Spain, whose wealth and power were thus greatly increased. El Dorado and Ophir, with all they could yield, seemed to have been opened and to have been seized by a strong, aggressive European state. Wonders in nature and strange works of man were disclosed. New, and, we would think, attractive subjects for the engraver were found. In the course of thirty years his art had advanced and was more generally practised. Nature and architecture were, indeed, still imperfectly sketched, but the human form and its costumes were often portrayed in masterly style. The work was still, to a great extent, on wood, but it had grown remarkable, not only for its character, but also for the variety of its subjects and the ability

of the artists. Lucas Cranach illustrated the Bible, Holbein the younger, religious books, Albert Dürer showed genius in many a way, and Hans Burgmair with his associates had drawn the marvellous "Triumphs of Maximilian." Virgil, Cæsar, Terence, and other classic authors had also been illustrated. Even the not very forward art of England had produced the Book of St. Albans<sup>1</sup> (1486), and the Mirror of the World (1481) and the Golden Legend (1484-87) by Caxton.

Yet the conquest and exploration of Mexico (1519-21), and of Peru (1532- about 35), were, for a long time at least, very slightly noticed in art. The Renaissance while it despised mediæval art, or gave little attention to any other than classic, and in a way almost worshipped that—and at the same time ruthlessly destroyed Roman works—could not be expected to bestow much thought on the monuments of aboriginal America, or the characteristics of the natives. The schools of landscape art, and the feelings and study that made them, were undeveloped. Scientific observation and drawing were limited or imperfect. However much we may regret that so little was done during most of the sixteenth century to illustrate the antiquities and condition of America, it was not strange, it was a matter of course, in regard to the antiquities, for with all the worship of classic art, it was only until some half a dozen generations later that even this began to be at all adequately illustrated.

We cannot, however, help noticing how little was done in an age of engraving applied to subjects then of interest, to show events in the conquest of the New World and the features and manners of its people. Opinions about the Spanish conquests and earlier rule in America have often

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<sup>1</sup> It has one hundred and nineteen cuts but they are only small ones of shields.

been strongly expressed by voice or in type. Hardly less marked is the silent evidence by neglect that art has left. While it was giving new expression to the records or ideals of Christian faith, or to the thoughts of great authors, and was glorifying the altars and palaces of Europe by its noblest efforts, it did not stoop to portray the atrocities of adventurers, bold and lucrative as might be their robberies even in the realms of the Montezumas and the Incas.

In the first, or early, editions of the histories of the conquests issued before 1590 we find almost as many books as plates, and few works that could be called illustrated. Gomara's Indies and Conquest of Mexico, Çaragoça, 1552, besides a map has a plate of a buffalo. Cieça de Leon's Chronicle of Peru,<sup>1</sup> a 12°, Seville, 1553, has wood-cuts in the text, as also has Zarete's Discovery and Conquest, another 12°, Seville, 1555. With Thevet's "La France Antarctique," Paris, 1558, relating largely to Brazil, and containing unusually good wood-cuts, the French press had an early representation among illustrated Americana.

Only a bibliography, and that one of minor things, can note all the scattered plates or cuts relating to America that appeared during the next thirty-five years. A sketch of the more notable does not, however, require great space.

Between 1550 and 1583 various editions of Ramusio's Collection of Voyages were published at Venice, with about forty cuts. Several of these, good for the times, relate to the natives or the natural history of the Spanish possessions, one of the largest showing the temple in Mexico (III, 307), and another (308) the city with its environs. The Cosmography of Sebastian Munster was apparently a popular book at this period, as there were several editions. It is a corpulent folio of a thousand four hundred and seventy-

<sup>1</sup>Three parts, only the first of which was issued above (reissued, Anvers, 1554). The second is missing, the third has been printed in this century.

five pages containing accounts of the whole world, and of some things never therein, illustrated by over nine hundred cuts, including not a few repeated. Five leaves with eight cuts are all that are allotted to the "New Islands" and world, the latter described under a heading of Asiatic Lands. One cut shows a man and woman, in what is called the garb of nature, dismembering a human being on a table, while another cut shows the man, who had acquired German clothes and imported European hardware, sitting comfortably on a stool beside a slow fire, over which he turns a spit thrust through the human body, then headless. As the same cut is used to illustrate the industries of other countries any objection solely to the original native American cooking is averted.

On this it seems popular subject, Hans Staden issued at Frankfort (1556), a small quarto with a history of the lands "of the wild, naked, cruel cannibals" in the New World, fully illustrated. It was speedily translated from German into Flemish, and sundry times published in the Low Countries. The size was decreased to the more handy 12°, but the cuts were retained, and the descriptive adjectives were increased so that the alleged Americans were also called "most ungodly." So popular was the work that it was published at Amsterdam as late as 1627.

Natural history of a milder type was a favorite subject so far as one could be while books were few. The "Historia Medicinal" of the West Indies, by Dr. Monardes (Seville, 1574, 80), contained a dozen wood-cuts of plants. John Frampton's "Joyfull Newes" (London, 1577), a translation had them of animals as well as plants.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the engraver's art was at length applied on a large scale, and in fine work, to illustrate American subjects. Theodore de Bry of Liége, born in 1528, who spent most of his long life at Frankfort-

on-the-Main, was a skilful engraver. In 1587<sup>1</sup> he went to England, where Richard Hakluyt, already engaged on a Collection of Voyages,<sup>2</sup> advised him to undertake one of his own illustrated with designs from nature. A series on each of the Indies was undertaken by him, and six parts on the West were issued during the last years of his life (1590-98).<sup>3</sup> His sons, John Theodore and John Israel, already associated with him, continued the work until they died (1612? and 1623), and Matthew Marian, who had married a sister, carried it on for some years longer. Thirteen parts were published in Latin, making fourteen in a German edition, and there were additions and reimpres-  
sions, all in folio. The first part, if no other, was also issued in English and in French. Only a discourse of more than the dimensions of an old fashioned New England one could contain an account of the intricacies of the whole collection, and it is enough to state here that owing to these features, and to the rarity of many parts, few persons for at least a century have made a nearly complete set. Posses-  
sion of a partial one is apt to give a sensation of delight to common mortals. Again the names of at least two mem-  
bers of this Society, Messrs. Lenox and Brown, are asso-  
ciated with two wonderful collections of books—their sets of the works of the DeBrys.

Historical order was not followed in publication. Some-  
thing new was apparently thought needed to start the series; accordingly the first part (1590) contained Harriot's Account of Virginia, written in 1588. The next part (1591), Le Moyne's Three Expeditions to Florida (1564-  
68), was in one sense also a novelty. Le Moyne was an artist of Dieppe who had been sent to observe and portray,

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<sup>1</sup> Camus, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Coll., 1589, and 2d ed., 1598-1600, without plates.

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showed we can hardly help noticing that it tried to show some justice to the Indians, and also that it did not neglect what was thought due reference to some of our British ancestors. The fearful trials of the American aborigines are vividly illustrated, as also are the missionary labors of some of their conquerors, who, it is evident, successfully taught at least the meaning of the word hell, until they may have suggested to the simple red men that it was a biblical name for a Spanish colony.

In order to hint at what the Indians might become under favoring circumstances, and perhaps also to modify the pride of white men then living, or forthcoming, is the reference to early inhabitants of Britain, whereby in exceptionally large plates is shown their savage mein, as well as what seems to have been their chief art—that of combining the maximum of tattooing with the minimum of tailoring.

While the DeBrys were publishing their collection, Levinus Hulse issued another, that after his death (1606) was continued until 1650 by his widow or successors, chiefly at Frankfort.<sup>1</sup> Small quartos, usually thin, with plates inferior to those in the rival folios, they seem to have been cheaper books for popular use, and hence apt to be worn out or lost, so that they are now very rare. In them America was illustrated from the Straits of Magellan to, at least, Newfoundland. During more than half a century these two collections must have done a great deal to make the New World better known. If their plates now give us less information than we want, it is simply because art at their date was directed more by imagination than by exact research.

Until 1624, when the issue of the Great Voyages by the

<sup>1</sup>There were twenty-six parts, eleven of which with thirty-three maps and sixty-three plates are on American subjects. Eight of the eleven parts were also issued by the DeBrys.

DeBrys ceased, the presses of Italy, Germany, Spain, Basle, London, and of the Low Countries had supplied illustrated books on America. Italy was foremost in time, Germany, and then Spain came next, closely followed by the Low Countries, where the production of such books became remarkable. One of the earliest issues from the London press, later than any of these, was in 1559, Wm. Cunningham's "Cosmical Glasse," a folio with small wood-cuts. The French press after Thevet's work, in 1558, supplied little of special note until 1613, when Champlain's *Voyages* appeared.

For Germany, the native land of successful printing, a pre-eminence in illustrative art was maintained by the DeBrys and Hulse. Apart from their works, however, fully one-half of the illustrated books on America issued between 1550 and 1624 were produced in the Low Countries, many at Antwerp, and still more at Amsterdam. Changes in the engraver's art, along with its greater diffusion were to follow. The seas with their rovers and wonders, and the far southern regions were more fully shown. Through the earlier period of colonization, where the stars and stripes were to wave, there was little enough engraved to show the land or its people, but illustrations of both were to increase in quantity and excellence, as has pretty much all else pertaining to the continental republic.

NOTE. It is proposed by the writer to continue this subject to recent times. As only a bibliography of impracticable size could present the full titles or references to all the works or additions mentioned, or that could be included, the notes to this paper have been made brief.



## ILLUSTRATED AMERICANA.

(SINCE 1600.)

### PART II.

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THE development of colonization in America, especially on the northern continent, during the Seventeenth Century, naturally affected the number and style of the books then published to illustrate the country and its people. Accounts of travels by land, and general or particular histories, as well as descriptions of voyages, became more abundant. Curious and interesting facts are shown by an examination of these works, issued between 1600 and 1730, both in regard to the relative production by different countries, and the small proportion in our own language. Fractions expressing these might be a little changed, but general results would not be much altered.

The English press, represented perhaps alone by that of London, as it had previously been, supplied few of these works between 1600 and 1650. From 1650 to 1730, the number moderately increased, but was still only about sixteen per cent. of the total in all countries. The German

NOTES.—The word "Americana" has been used through this paper in the sense commonly given it, a term for the books on American subjects. Books on other subjects, American only because printed in America, are not included. Works with maps only, or with a single plate, can hardly be considered "illustrated," and mention of them is omitted.

The writer, after considerable experience, has thought it best not to illustrate these papers by reproducing plates. Qualities of engraving can hardly be shown; an octavo page compels reductions in many cases so that the originals are not well represented; and selection of a dozen examples from hundreds beside him, would meet somewhere the comment that others might, could or should have been chosen.



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issues, excluding those by the DeBrys and Hulsius, were fewer, the French production still less, the Italian hardly three per cent. and the Spanish almost nothing. Art here again gives striking evidence. Although Spain held the then richest part of America, illustration of it, as well as of other parts, land and sea, passed to freer and more enterprising people, just as the wealth of the New World was meanwhile passing, and as the dominion was to follow.

The remarkable industry and energy of the Dutch was shown in engraving as in other pursuits, for the amount of Illustrated Americana that they produced between 1600 and 1730 was about fifty-three per cent. of all that Europe furnished. During the first half century of this period, the proportion was even larger; during the remainder it was evenly distributed. Compared with America, Holland is a small spot with few people, but we can almost as well not know about Columbus, as not know well what they have done, when we deal with Americana.

Another interesting particular appears about the relative attention to the different parts of America. Of the works issued in this period—excluding about one-third that may be called general, the largest number were devoted to the West Indies. There were about as many relating to the present area of the United States, if we count all the editions of Hennepin, but without them only about half as many. Some seventeen per cent. of all related to South America, five per cent. to Mexico and Central America, and, it seems strange, as many to Greenland.

Looking at these books in geographical rather than chronological order, we begin at the North. Among works on that region we find a Paris 8°, 1654, with Laon's Relation of a Voyage by French, but it has only a few plates. In 1663, appeared at Amsterdam a 4° with wood cuts, describing Northern Lands, including Iceland and Greenland;

also, the same year and place a similar book, with an account of three voyages to the latter, and another with Raven's Journal of a voyage thither. Marten's voyage, also thither, was treated in a 4° with sixteen folding plates, published, in 1675, at Hamburg. There were several later editions. In 1682 and 1684, Dutch enterprise supplied accounts of the Whale Fishery in the Greenland seas, illustrated by folding copper-plates.

On Canada there were fewer illustrated works. Champlain's *Voyages* appeared in a 4°, 1613, at Paris, with a moderate number of plates, neither very large nor elaborate. Within thirty years, there were other illustrated editions issued in the same city. Also there, in 1664, appeared Creuxius's *Historia Canadensis*, a 4° with thirteen plates. Copies are now apt to be found mutilated, and lacking a large plate showing the martyrdom of the Jesuit fathers. Towards the close of the century appeared the works of Hennepin that were among the most popular in the whole range of earlier Americana. The wide extent of New France, as well as Canada, was described. Every succeeding list of the editions shows the number greater. Of nearly fifty issued, within about as many years, many are more or less illustrated. Among the earlier plates are one of a bison, and another of Niagara Falls. That views even a century before could be made fairly accurate in main features, and were so, has already been shown. This view of the great cataract (6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.) is another example. It is partly what is called a "bird's-eye" view of the country near and above the Falls, with many existing features but with more forest. On the Canadian side, a minor stream leaps athwart the larger fall. The latter seems to be too narrow. Otherwise the plate seems correct, and valuable as well as curious. The same estimate appears deserved by much of Hennepin's description, although if

we credit the verdict of later research, about his reported exploration of the Mississippi, he must have had the energy of a modern steamboat, or the pen of an ancient Ananias.

New England, from the first, was the subject of many books and pamphlets, all now tantalizing to the collector and a trial to his pockets. In these books, however, there are few plates. Somehow, the country, or the early thirst for knowledge about it, did not stimulate publishers to any great outlay on art for its illustration. Until 1624, the English, that is to say the London, press had supplied only about half a dozen works with plates specially on America, but the start that had then been given to colonization was signalized by a little galaxy of three works, that together compared well with any like group issued elsewhere. They were Capt. John Smith's "General History," 1624; "Sir Francis Drake Revived," 1626, and Samuel Purchas's "His Pilgrimes," 1625, in five volumes, folio. The last, although a general work on many parts of America, and like the others, less illustrated than we might wish, was the greatest English work of the kind yet produced, and, on the whole, not surpassed by anything of its sort that had been published on the Continent. The promise of increased, or similar, illustration was, however, all in this beginning. Art concerned itself as little in picturing New England as it did about the earliest discoveries, even less than it did about the Halls of the Montezumas. A great deal was printed on the politics, more on the theology of the people, and, unpropitious as was the literary atmosphere, no little poetry, including the verses of a Tenth Muse, sprung up in America, but excessively little engraved illustration. The scenery and architecture of the region were to be portrayed at a far later date, as were the manners and customs, for it was almost left to "Life" in our day to delineate the icy decorum of Puritan hilarity.

To the meagre illustrations of this part of the country John Josselyn's "New England's Rarities" was added in 1675, with many wood cuts of subjects in Natural History, excluding mankind generally, but including "A Perfect Description of an Indian Squa, in all her Bravery." It is, however, no virtue to make a short story about early illustrated books on New England. They are almost as scarce as dividends from some of our gold mines.

In 1651, at Amsterdam, a thin quarto was published with half a dozen copper-plates in the text. One of them, measuring about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, gives us the first engraved view of New Amsterdam, subsequently New York. A re-impresion is the solitary illustration in Adriaen van der Donck's "Nieuw-Nederland," issued four years afterwards.<sup>1</sup> In 1671, also at Amsterdam, appeared a large folio, the "Onbekende Weereld," by Arnold Montanus. Among its numerous plates was another view of New York, quite different, and larger ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 5 inches). This in turn was re-issued the same year at London, in Ogilby's huge book "America" (p. 171), that also contained nineteen maps and one hundred and five plates derived from Montanus, of which work it was more or less a translation, and to which there is by no means profuse or conspicuous reference. A copy of the last-named view is in the Genealogical Register, July, 1882, where it is dated 1640. Judging by the two views the village was large, irregular and picturesque. By another plate (p. 173) Ogilby gives us reason to infer that unicorns ran wild in the country, where, he tells us (p. 178), there were many beasts called "Buffles," together with aborigines who were nasty, stubborn, covetous, revengeful, and addicted to stealing. If we also credit some modern statements, we are led to think that the prototypes

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New England, from the first, was the subject of many books and pamphlets, all now tantalizing to the collector and a trial to his pockets. In these books, however, there are few plates. Somehow, the country, or the early thirst for knowledge about it, did not stimulate publishers to any great outlay on art for its illustration. Until 1624, the English, that is to say the London, press had supplied only about half a dozen works with plates specially on America, but the start that had then been given to colonization was signalized by a little galaxy of three works, that together compared well with any like group issued elsewhere. They were Capt. John Smith's "General History," 1624; "Sir Francis Drake Revived," 1626, and Samuel Purchas's "His Pilgrimes," 1625, in five volumes, folio. The last, although a general work on many parts of America, and like the others, less illustrated than we might wish, was the greatest English work of the kind yet produced, and, on the whole, not surpassed by anything of its sort that had been published on the Continent. The promise of increased, or similar, illustration was, however, all in this beginning. Art concerned itself as little in picturing New England as it did about the earliest discoveries, even less than it did about the Halls of the Montezumas. A great deal was printed on the politics, more on the theology of the people, and, unpropitious as was the literary atmosphere, no little poetry, including the verses of a Tenth Muse, sprung up in America, but excessively little engraved illustration. The scenery and architecture of the region were to be portrayed at a far later date, as were the manners and customs, for it was almost left to "Life" in our day to delineate the icy decorum of Puritan hilarity.

To the meagre illustrations of this part of the country John Josselyn's "New England's Rarities" was added in 1675, with many wood cuts of subjects in Natural History, excluding mankind generally, but including "A Perfect Description of an Indian Squa, in all her Bravery." It is, however, no virtue to make a short story about early illustrated books on New England. They are almost as scarce as dividends from some of our gold mines.

In 1651, at Amsterdam, a thin quarto was published with half a dozen copper-plates in the text. One of them, measuring about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, gives us the first engraved view of New Amsterdam, subsequently New York. A re-impression is the solitary illustration in Adriaen van der Donck's "Nieuw-Nederland," issued four years afterwards.<sup>1</sup> In 1671, also at Amsterdam, appeared a large folio, the "Onbekende Weereld," by Arnold Montanus. Among its numerous plates was another view of New York, quite different, and larger ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 5 inches). This in turn was re-issued the same year at London, in Ogilby's huge book "America" (p. 171), that also contained nineteen maps and one hundred and five plates derived from Montanus, of which work it was more or less a translation, and to which there is by no means profuse or conspicuous reference. A copy of the last-named view is in the Genealogical Register, July, 1882, where it is dated 1640. Judging by the two views the village was large, irregular and picturesque. By another plate (p. 173) Ogilby gives us reason to infer that unicorns ran wild in the country, where, he tells us (p. 178), there were many beasts called "Buffles," together with aborigines who were nasty, stubborn, covetous, revengeful, and addicted to stealing. If we also credit some modern statements, we are led to think that the prototypes

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On Spanish America, there were far more books. The most popular of them, or of any work on America during this period, was, perhaps, Las Casas's Mirror of Spanish Tyranny. Almost any story of atrocities by the Spaniards seems not only to have been believed, but to have had foundation on facts. DeBry issued the work; many Dutch editions followed; in 1699, it appeared in English at London, and in 1627, at least, illustrated, in Dutch, and with seventeen copper-plates, at Amsterdam. Solis's Conquest of Mexico rivalled the works of Las Casas in popularity. Between 1691 and 1741, there were in Spanish, French, Italian, or English, many issues with plates, some of them large, and among the best of their class, that had been produced. Zeiller's "Monarchia Hispania," in Dutch, 1659, with one hundred and thirteen pages on America, seems to have been far less popular.

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names and editions through the former period, it may be enough to refer here to a few specialties. Natural History, although not excessively treated, received marked attention with interesting results, shown in great folios, wonderful indeed when compared with the little volumes of Monardes published two centuries earlier. Catesby's work relating to Carolina, Florida and the Bahamas, came out at London in 1731, with two hundred colored plates, reissued in superior style in 1754, and again in 1771, with twenty plates added. Eisenberger published a companion work in Latin, with one hundred and nine colored plates, Nuremberg, 1750, and the Dutch added their contribution in the large work of Burmannus, with two hundred and sixty-two plates, 1755-60, an edition of Plumier (1693) much developed. The great earthquake at Lima (1746), was illustrated as well as described. Fortifications, that had for a long while been important features in the more southern parts of America, were, by the French and the English, made numerous in the north. Interest about them led to the publication of a few books with their plans, books valuable as well as curious. Poetry adorned by plates, fashionable in later times, does not seem to have been very common. There was an example of it in "La Columbiade," by Madame Duboccage. Guide-books were not plenty, for travellers were not, yet there were at least three London editions of an abridgment of Voyages and Histories entitled the "American Traveller," embellished with "neatly engraved" portraits, that did not flatter their originals.

Illustrated books relating to the Revolution had, generally, little of the importance characterizing the political and military events of the war. Maps and plates on sheets, or in solitary seclusion in books were fairly numerous, but both of the parties active in the contest had more serious work. Indeed, provincials could not, and Englishmen did

not, use engraving to any great extent for volumes on the subject, while the French, Germans and others, made only moderate additions to the list. Fewer, smaller, or less vivid, than we wish they were, they yet are interesting and important from their relationship, and deserve a longer description than would be possible in this paper. They are a class by themselves, at some other time, it may be, to be treated by the writer.

About the middle of the last century began a new period in Art, that long continued, when the illustrated book was far more developed. Hitherto it had generally been a volume with plates, more or less scattered, in it. Now it often became a volume largely, or almost exclusively, of plates and often in size far exceeding nearly all its predecessors. In illustrating, the Age of the Giants had come, and America has had no slight amount of their attention.

Piranesi gave the world his profuse, amazing, enormous plates of Roman Antiquities, drawn with boldness and power. Stuart and Revett, on a lesser scale, but with more mathematical nicety, showed Athenian Art in their imperial folios. The larger folios of the first Dresden Gallery presented many a masterpiece of the elder artists. One Voyage Pittoresque, of ponderous bulk, succeeded another, illustrating many a country. Boydell lavished his fortune in presenting the creations of the chief poet of his native land, and Britton, with a devotion we can never praise too much, illustrated, as never before or since they have been, Old England's Cathedrals. Then, hero, we are tempted to say, of all, Baron Taylor consecrated vast labor and resources to France.

In time, America was not to be without such monumental works. Before examining them, let us first make note of the styles of engraving that came into use. All the while since 1498, engraving on wood has been used in Ameri-

cana, yet work in other forms has by turns also been used. Until the close of the last century, metal plates, chiefly copper, were largely employed. At that date, lithography had been invented and moderately developed, furnishing an easier and cheaper mode that became extensively used after 1825. It gave a great stimulus to the production of illustrated books, especially those of large size, and is very noticeable in those issued between 1830 and 1850. To the present time it has been constantly improved and elaborated. In the earlier part of our century, plates colored by hand were fashionable, and many fine examples were produced. In recent years, printing in polychrome has been made remarkably elaborate, effective and expensive. Still later, reproductive processes have been much used, and have proved useful, and, indeed, important. As in other large classes of illustrated books, all these styles of plates are found in Americana. Marking the advent of the modern book, composed almost exclusively of engravings, as well as the beginning of the Age of the Giants, we find in *Illustrated Americana* the "Scenographia," London, 1768, now very scarce. It measures 18 by  $23\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and contains twenty-eight views in Canada and other British colonies. Certainly it is of as much historical value as not a few books wholly of text. Six, at least, of the plates, from sketches by Gov. Pownall, appeared in 1761; then others were made, until the whole volume was published as stated.

The two notable pioneers in American copper-plate engraving produced work that we may safely call astonishing. Paul Revere's was chiefly on paper money or on separate sheets, but Norman boldly attempted portraiture and the illustration of books. One of his largest undertakings, also as printer and publisher, was the "Builder's Assistant,"

a folio with sixty outline plates of Architectural details, Boston, 1786.<sup>1</sup>

A sketch of American engraving must be omitted in this paper, and the general fact stated that we were not, for a long while, profusely illustrated by natives or foreigners.

Towards the close of the last century, periodicals, novelties here, appeared with copper-plates, of which "The Massachusetts Magazine," and "The New York Magazine" were notable examples. No great genius was shown in treating imaginative subjects, and if the views of American places and buildings are not as good as we could wish, they are valuable from the scarcity of anything of the sort, and although they are smaller they are about as good as some contemporary plates in English County histories. To some extent, engraved coppers, or impressions from them, seem to have been imported. In other cases, European plates were copied.

In the Age of the Giants their works on America came later than those on Europe. It was 1810 when Humboldt's grand atlas folio was issued in Paris, giving, with text, views of the scenery and of the aboriginal monuments in Central America. A superb, double-page, colored view of Chimborazo (16 by 24 inches) is one of the most striking

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<sup>1</sup>There is probably no more notable example at this period, of an illustrated book produced in America, than the folio Bible "Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts, by Isaiah Thomas," 1791. While the Bible has been a very important work in the minds, hearts and history of our countrymen, it can hardly be classed as "Americana." Yet mention of this noble volume should be made here. It has fifty plates, engraved for it. Six are by Samuel Hill, Boston; five by J. Norman; eight by J. H. Seymour; three by Joe. Seymour; twenty by J. Seymour; one is marked "Seymour"; one is by Doolittle, New Haven; and six are without name. A full account of the book is in O'Callaghan's "American Bibles," pp. 38-40.

Two editions of the Bible in large quarto, also illustrated, were, it may be added, the two largest volumes ever produced in the writer's native town. They were printed by Samuel Etheridge, 1803. Seven plates were by James Hill; one was by Doolittle, and one by E. G. Gridley.

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The exploration of the vast interior and southwestern regions of our country has been followed by notable results in its history. Much of the exploration and of the illustration of it has been done under the authority of the Government. The surveys for the Mexican Boundary and for the Pacific Railroad furnished subjects for two large publications in quarto, on the former, three volumes, on the latter, thirteen (Washington, 1855-60), with five hundred and twenty-three lithographic plates, many of them colored. More distant regions were also treated, as in the account of the Exploring Expedition, 1845, to the Pacific, and of the Japan Expedition, 1856,—the first with steel plates, in all its parts with over a thousand illustrations, the other with wood cuts and tinted lithographs. These are, however, American books on foreign subjects rather than illustrated Americana. Foreigners have done much for us—these show what we can do for some of them.

A glance at the works with steel plates turns us back a little in time. Many of the finest date from 1840 and since,—such as Bartlett's quartos on Canada and on the United States, those on Greenwood and Mount Auburn, or, near here, Bowen's Boston (1829), and an Account of the Tremont House (1830).

Engraving on wood has, of late, reached a marvellous development in our country, and has been much used in the class of books treated in this paper. While, of course, there is varying merit or interest in the numberless examples, we find beauty, delicacy, and accuracy, to an extent that well makes us proud of what our countrymen can now accomplish in this already ancient form of Art. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to give any adequately full presentation of this part of its subjects. Yielding to the impossible is the apology for this brief allusion.

No American subject could, however, be more worthy of treatment by American Art than the history, private as well as public, of the great founder of the leading nation in the New World. Irving's, the most notable of any "Life" of Washington is, on large paper (4°, New York, 1859), also one of the handsomest books ever produced in our Country, and a few copies of it have been made some of the most remarkable examples of what are called extra illustrated books—that is, books for which additional plates, often rare or curious, are collected from various sources. Most of such plates are line engravings. Copies like these are no mere scrap-books, but rare and costly additions to historical literature. There are perhaps half a dozen of them and so scarce are the plates, especially the proofs, used, that no more similar copies can perhaps ever be made. Each of them is sufficiently unlike another to make it fairly called unique. The taste for

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intendent of Indian Affairs, Mr. King, a skilful artist, and James Hall, prepared a History of the North American Tribes, with one hundred and twenty exactly colored portraits in three folios (Philadelphia, 1838-44). George Catlin published—and there were several editions—Illustrations of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the same Indians, with over three hundred steel plates, and also a large folio of Hunting Scenes with twenty-five plates. He seems to have been the Buffalo Bill of his day, for his exhibition of live aborigines made a greater sensation than his books. At the same time Henry R. Schoolcraft, who was born near Albany, was collecting a great amount of information on the same subject, that was published by authority of Congress, in six large quartos (Philadelphia, 1851-57). In them were three hundred and thirty-six plates from sketches by Capt. S. Eastman of the Navy.

The exploration of the vast interior and southwestern regions of our country has been followed by notable results in its history. Much of the exploration and of the illustration of it has been done under the authority of the Government. The surveys for the Mexican Boundary and for the Pacific Railroad furnished subjects for two large publications in quarto, on the former, three volumes, on the latter, thirteen (Washington, 1855-60), with five hundred and twenty-three lithographic plates, many of them colored. More distant regions were also treated, as in the account of the Exploring Expedition, 1845, to the Pacific, and of the Japan Expedition, 1856,—the first with steel plates, in all its parts with over a thousand illustrations, the other with wood cuts and tinted lithographs. These are, however, American books on foreign subjects rather than illustrated Americana. Foreigners have done much for us—these show what we can do for some of them.

A glance at the works with steel plates turns us back a little in time. Many of the finest date from 1840 and since,—such as Bartlett's quartos on Canada and on the United States, those on Greenwood and Mount Auburn, or, near here, Bowen's Boston (1829), and an Account of the Tremont House (1830).

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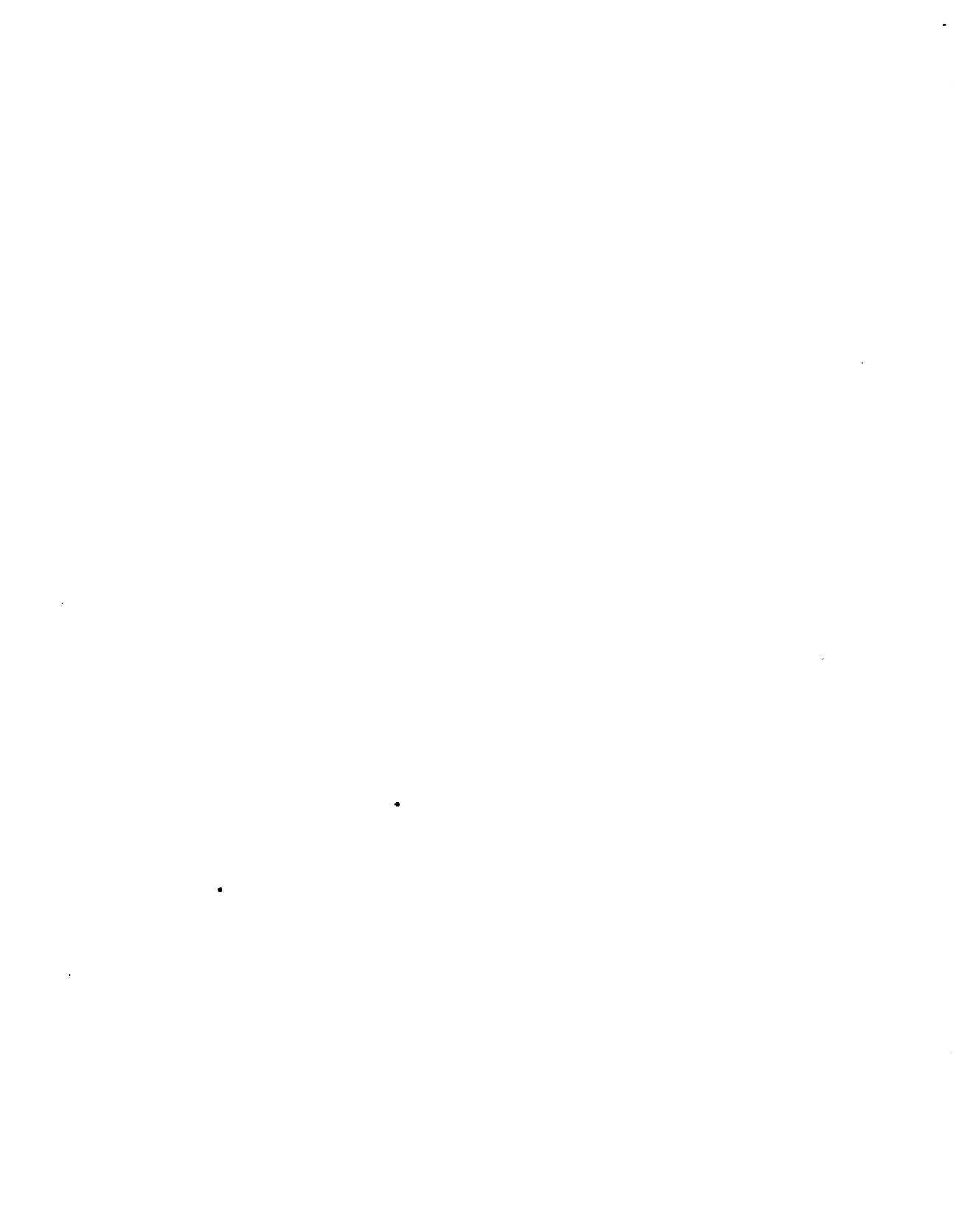
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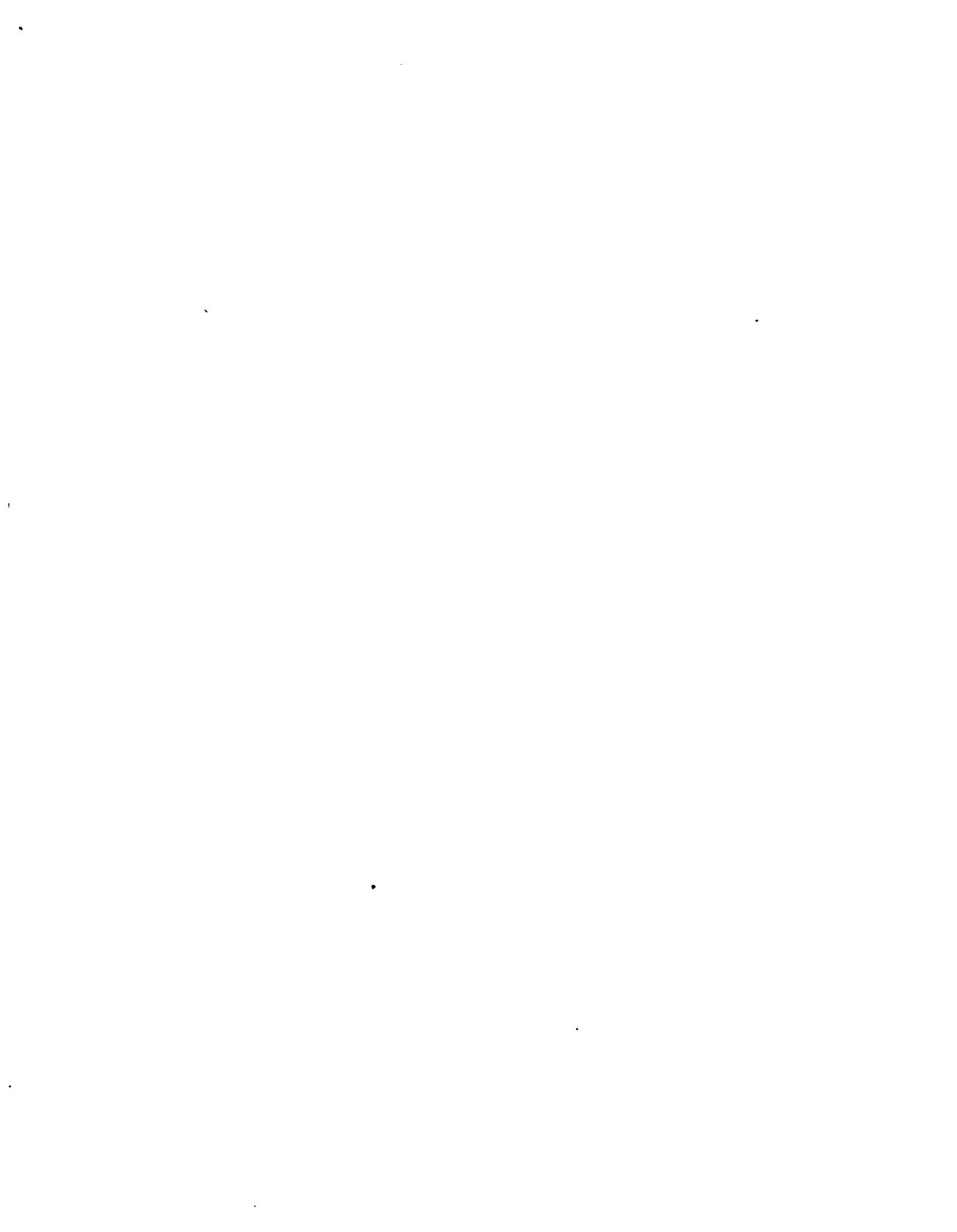
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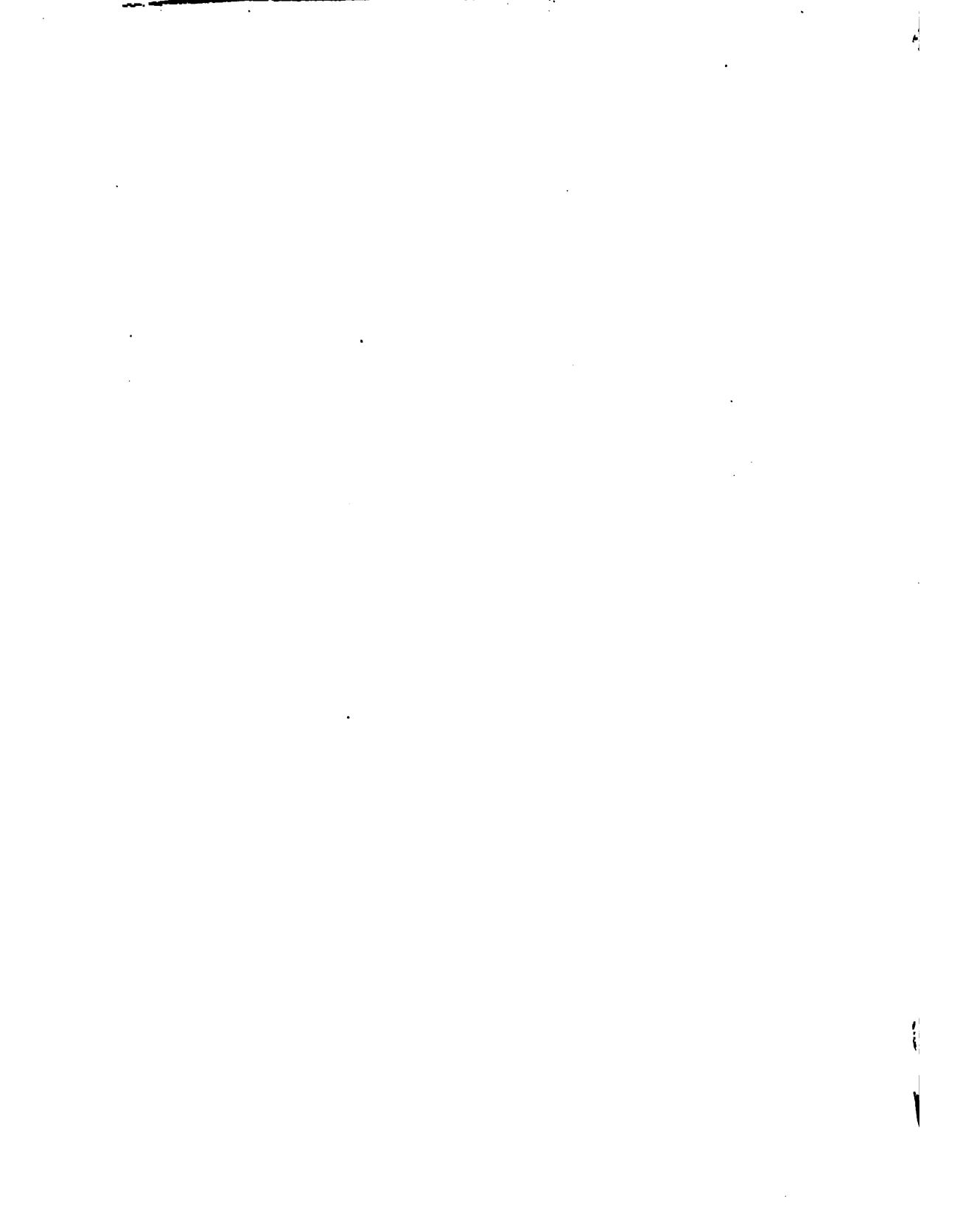
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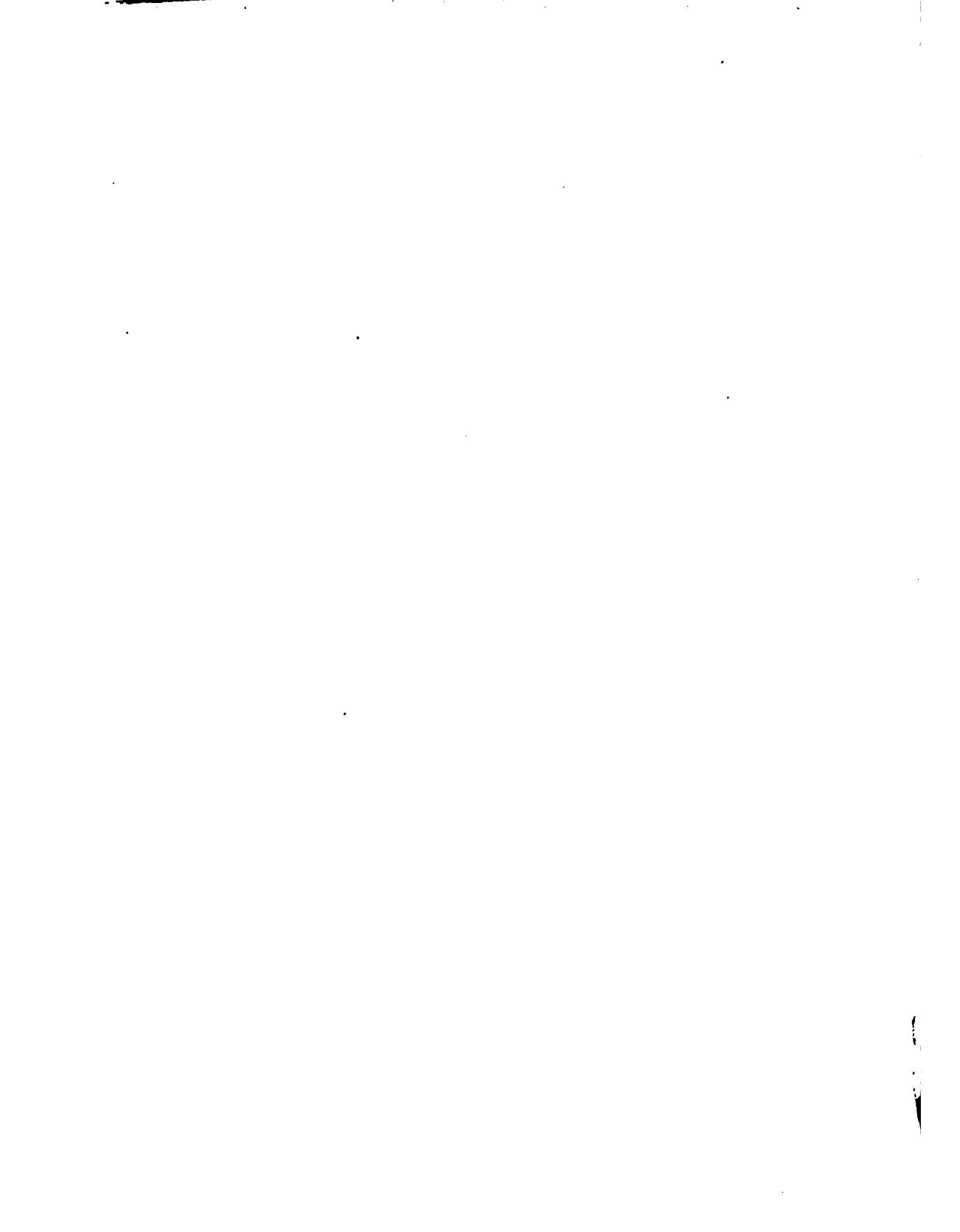
AMERICANA OF THE REVOLUTION

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TO THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING IN  
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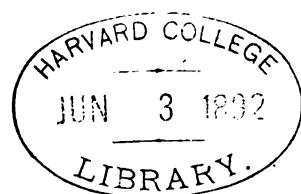
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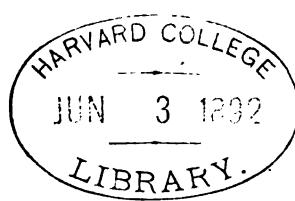
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J. F. H.

*Charlestown, Mass., May, 1892.*



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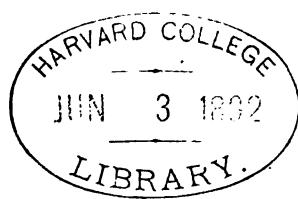
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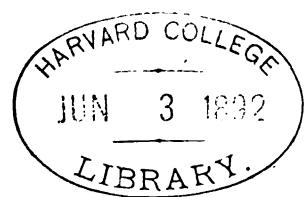
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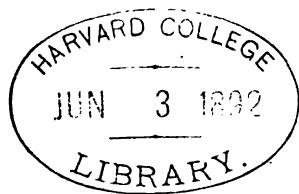
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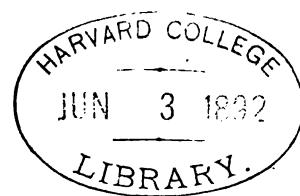
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When the war impended, or began, the earliest demand was for maps of our country, especially of the coast. Almost as soon there was a call for portraits of the chief actors; and views of places, or illustrations of events soon followed. Each sort, largely the portraits, was supplied until peace came.

The maps are distinct from the engravings, and of them it may briefly be said that not a few are large, finely executed, and valuable. On the whole they show a great deal of the good work, and give us great help in history. Early in the war, London publishers issued sheet-maps; the *Gentleman's Magazine* furnished others, still interesting, to the middle and higher classes; and the Government supplied the navy with the imposing and elaborate "Atlantic Neptune," issued from 1775 to 1782.

Most of the plate engravings were in books. We wish there were more of these plates showing actions, and especially places, for lands, buildings and towns have very much changed. Europe then furnished most of the finer artificial things used here, and it is not strange that most of the plates had their origin there. Art was not really at home here, and little here taught it.

War, however, quickens most things, and brings out men to exercise any required skill otherwise dormant. Engraving had hardly been attempted here, but the times inspired novel efforts. While soldiers came from town and farm, so also, although in numbers relatively less, appeared pioneers of the art.

In the great world abroad it was a Golden Age of engraving. Works were produced in France and Italy that are still admired and eagerly sought. England was then the home of Strange,<sup>1</sup> Bartolozzi,<sup>2</sup> and Earlam.<sup>3</sup> Mezzotints were

<sup>1</sup> Sir (1787) Robert, 1721-92.

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As early as April, 1775, Samuel Okey, Newport, R. I., emulous of metropolitan achievements, produced a striking mezzotint of "Mr. Samuel Adams." Some patriotic Rhode Islander may be able to tell us more about the engraver.

A thin little quarto beside the writer shows in a notable way some of the exigencies at the opening of the Revolution. It is the "Manual Exercise" for instructing troops in the Royal, or Loyal, service, issued in Boston in 1764. When training for "rebel" service was started, there was a lack of text-books as aids. Copies of this work appear to have remained unsold, and were adapted to the occasion. The title was suitably altered, and in a heading on page 3, appeared the words "The Manual Exercise as ordered" [by the Provincial Congress] followed by a neat bit of white paper pasted over the original words "by His Majesty." Two folding plates that show military forms were retained. The treatise then became an aid to something very different from the original intent, and the advantages of thrift were in due time apparent.

When soldiers gathered near Boston to begin the war, Ralph Earle, later a well-known artist, and Amos Doolittle, afterwards an engraver, came in a company from New Haven. They visited the sites of the early engagements;

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the former drew, and the latter cut on copper, two views of the fight at Lexington, and two of that at Concord. All were about 12 x 18 inches in size. Two of them give a little information about buildings, two show the position and shape of those at the centre of each town, but scanty details; more is given of costume. Of portraiture there is nothing, although in the view of Concord town Earl Percy and Colonel Smith are in the foreground. The importance of three other British officers is proved by showing them, on horseback, as high as a two-storied house.

It is easy to say that these views are the most accurate and valuable that we have of the scenes, for there is nothing with which to compare them. As early American engravings they have an interest and value not theirs as works of art, in which they are surpassed by the earliest Italian plates on metal made before 1492. By reason of their subjects and the little illustration these had at the time, they are, however, as Mrs. Stowe's old woman said of men in general, "enough sight better than nothing." John Norman was another pioneer: he gave us portraits. We are aware that our Revolutionary heroes were remarkable men: he and Doolittle made them supernatural, with large heads, long bodies and dwarfed legs. The latter, it has been said, was caricaturing Earl Percy, but with the same peculiarities, and more elaboration, Norman shows us John Hancock. His full-length of General Warren is better; in a view of that hero's death he has again proved that extraordinary shapes, faces and attitudes are not, in early American plates, caricatures, but evidences of style and capacity in drawing.

At a later date, Norman delineated some allegorical young women engaged in commemorating the earlier battles, who, notwithstanding their looks, were probably not afflicted with the mumps.

Bunker Hill and the battle there, formed a subject for at least three remarkable plates. The first, a large one (12 x 17 inches), was by Bernard Romans, a Dutch engineer in the American service. Reduced in size, this view appeared in the "Pennsylvania Magazine" of 1775. Another (7 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ) was published with Cocking's poem, "The American War," in 1781, and the third (11 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 8 in.), "drawn by Mr. Millar," in Barnard's History of England, 1783. The latter two are evidently from the same drawing. In each of the three views there is a river, and at one side a hill; otherwise the topography is impossible, the architecture more than dubious, and the action defiant of printed accounts. They appear to have been drawn by the help of a certain map and a lively imagination.

While the war continued, the portraits outnumbered the views, yet even this number is far from being excessive.

A rival, if not a superior, had preceded, and was contemporaneous with Doolittle and Norman. Paul Revere's plates, so far as they relate to the Revolution, largely treat of subjects that were its precursors several years before it began. The Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre, scenes of events, as his views of Boston, the North Battery, and Harvard College, or portraits, like that of Samuel Adams, or political caricatures, show the versatility of his talents and his industry. It is a question whether he was not more an artist, as well as a more skilful engraver, than any other man in the Colonies during his time; and also whether in historical value, as well as in variety of subjects, his are not the most important American plates of their date.

In the meantime, busy as he was in political or military affairs, he showed that his skill had not been exhausted years before, but was used to no little effect in matters of importance every day through the Revolution. He engraved plates for the paper that passed as money, and while

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The later portraits, like the earlier, were as good as many of those that appeared during our last war. The Rev. James Murray wrote an "Impartial History" (London and Newcastle, 1778, 1780), in which there were twenty-six busts in small, oval frames. Some years later, John Andrews (LL.D.), prepared a history including operations in Europe. This work (1785-6) had twenty-four portraits of various shapes, generally a little round, set in a sort of wall, that are better than Murray's. Histories by Gordon, Ramsay and Stedman contained maps or plans. In 1781, "Impartial History" appeared at Boston, in parts making three volumes, 8°, with portraits by J. Norman, notably like those in Murray.

A long article would be required for a description of the engraved portraits of Washington. Assiduous collectors have found some five hundred specimens—good, bad, or indifferent. Of really good, or in some way important, there are perhaps a hundred, few of which were made before 1783; indeed of the five hundred, a very large part date from this century and from its latter half. From the heading of a handbill, a bust on a postage-stamp or a bank-note, to large, full-length plates, we find these presentations of the Father of his Country.

Caricature has a part in history and politics. It appeared with some rather striking plates early in the war, but when both parties settled to earnest work there was less. Lord North is shown with a teapot pouring its contents into the mouth of a buxom America held down by Lord Mansfield. At a later date, Lord North is pumping water on a prostrate Britannia to revive her in her troubles. Some of the caricatures issued in London were, indeed, as severe as the most radical American patriot would desire. A large

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Of views, one of the earliest is a large and magnificent plate in the "Atlantic Neptune," Boston as seen from Dorchester. The same huge work has five colored views of the harbor. It is very much to be regretted that the skilled engravers who made them could not have shown us the sites or scenes of the early and later battles. Little similar comparable work followed. Perhaps the best was "a collection of [16] plates representing the different events of the war," engraved by Ponce and Godefroy, and issued in Paris. The most extraordinary was a series issued at Augsbourg, about 1781, purporting to show Boston and other places. The full size of the plates was 12½ by 17 inches — the boldness of the draughtsman was boundless. German architecture of the last century was applied in a way it never was in America, and although the places were made to look as unlike as well could be, anything that existed here, the "views" are valuable and curious evidences of the manner in which our country was then presented to Europe.

Moderate as is the number of plates produced before 1784, all of them cannot be mentioned here, nor can more than an allusion be made to the far greater number illustrative of the Revolution issued during the present century, most of them during its last half. As plates, the majority are the best on the subjects, and as portraits and views, the

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Caricature has a part in history and politics. It appeared with some rather striking plates early in the war, but when both parties settled to earnest work there was less. Lord North is shown with a teapot pouring its contents into the mouth of a buxom America held down by Lord Mansfield. At a later date, Lord North is pumping water on a prostrate Britannia to revive her in her troubles. Some of the caricatures issued in London were, indeed, as severe as the most radical American patriot would desire. A large

plate, with French lettering, dedicated to "Milords" of the English Admiralty, by a member of the American Congress, shows an Admiral — an eagle dressed as a man — tied to a tree, while Congress clips his claws, another party his wings and one Dutchman plucks his feathers that a second carries away for sale. The drawing is said to be from nature at Boston by Corbet in 1778, and the engraving at Philadelphia. Gilray left only one (?) large caricature of events in the Revolution: Rodney presenting Grasse to George III.

Of views, one of the earliest is a large and magnificent plate in the "Atlantic Neptune," Boston as seen from Dorchester. The same huge work has five colored views of the harbor. It is very much to be regretted that the skilled engravers who made them could not have shown us the sites or scenes of the early and later battles. Little similar comparable work followed. Perhaps the best was "a collection of [16] plates representing the different events of the war," engraved by Ponce and Godefroy, and issued in Paris. The most extraordinary was a series issued at Augsbourg, about 1781, purporting to show Boston and other places. The full size of the plates was 12½ by 17 inches — the boldness of the draughtsman was boundless. German architecture of the last century was applied in a way it never was in America, and although the places were made to look as unlike as well could be, anything that existed here, the "views" are valuable and curious evidences of the manner in which our country was then presented to Europe.

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In contrast, while we look over the early plates, we realize to what a limited extent our country was then a home of art, notably at a period when engraving had reached great development and diffusion abroad. We realize, as we do when examining the cuts made between 1492 and 1550, to what a small degree subjects furnished by America were treated by art. The educated and refined world outside does not seem to have been interested in us to a flattering extent or to one commensurate with the attention given to political and military affairs. We realize, also, the stern demands of war on our people, and how little time and money they had to spend on illustrations of it.

But matters are comparative as well as positive. Let us see if we were alone in certain respects. A nearly parallel case has, of late been presented.

Two years ago a great nation celebrated on an immense scale the centennial of a revolution that utterly changed its history. There was a vast and magnificent display of not only its own arts and industries, but also those of other nations. None of the "World's Fairs," or national exhibitions, during the past thirty years was as large and extraordinary. It seems as if no other country could surpass, rival or equal the Exposition of 1889; and the writer makes this remark after having seen nearly all the imposing demonstrations of the sort. France fully and impressively showed her position at the close of a hundred years following the events of 1789.

Apart from this, yet with important illustrative connection, there was in a hall at the Louvre a comparatively

small exhibition of objects associated with the beginning and the first twenty of the hundred years. There were gathered all obtainable portraits, views, painted dishes, flags, personal relics, pertaining to the French Revolution, and contemporary with it. They were produced when France was distinguished for the skill of her engravers, and of her workers in fine porcelain and tapestry. For the arts she was a home, not a desert.

Great care had evidently been used to make the collection, and what was it? Large, if we take into the account the waste by war, political changes, and heedlessness; not large, estimated by the number, industry and active fancy of the French. Still, if smaller than might be thought or wished, there was probably more than could be gathered about our Revolution, or that of England in 1649, or in 1688. In quality, there was little of the finer art of the country, and much that was rude. It was here also shown that the most and the better engraved illustrations follow, at a distance, the war times to which they refer.

But another, a deeper, a different impression was also made—that there was so little about a very marked period in the French Revolution. There were numerous portraits, but as to what the originals did, it was suggested that there really never was a Reign of Terror.

A few touching personal relics there were, indeed—mute yet eloquent evidence—a cloth dipped in the blood of the Queen, a little suit of clothes made for the Dauphin—some of the chief souvenirs that diligent search could procure to show that a family sovereign through centuries lived and died in Paris. But, if not there, engravings showing the Terror exist.

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Let our Revolutionary plates be scanty, or poor, so long as we had with them the calm, wise heads that made us a nation, and along with those heads the plain folks. After all, better the Yankee, plain as his own barn-door, but going to hear the minister preach on a Sunday, and on a week-day doing some talking himself in town-meeting.

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But there will be one cause for reflection that we may well heed. Judging from the rate at which they have already disappeared, we are forced to think that by the end of another century the illustrations made before 1784 may have altogether disappeared. Our patriotic ancestors, in many a place and year, heard orations filled with ardent eloquence; they printed these with explosions of caps., great and small, of italics and exclamation points; and then

they made waste-paper of the illustrations. In our time, the early patriots are eulogized in resounding rhetoric ; the bold and graceful signature of the great signer of the Declaration of our Independence is lavishly reproduced—and the house of John Hancock—one of the most solid, picturesque, and historic throughout our wide land—is sold for old junk. The libraries of the collectors who take care of books are one by one dispersed. By the increase of wealth, and the spread of enlightenment, the volumes are gathered elsewhere ; public thirst for knowledge—and amusement—is satiated ; and after awhile the plates are missing.

A hundred years hence when the manners and customs, the enterprise and modesty of our times are talked about, there will be a chance for tributes not those of flattery. Debts are liberally contracted for posterity ; it may prove well that we take better care of certain things we have left, if we would wish to have it then decided that we, in our day, with our means, make our bequests as valuable as those left by the men of the Revolutionary time, even in their scanty legacies of *Illustrated Americana*.

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